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ABSTRACT

This follow up survey of the 1965 NDEA history institute program (which had been thoroughly studied) examines constancy of participants' opinions about the institute and investigates some specific phases of institute experience. Objectives include answering four questions on how attendance at the institute affected each participant's: 1) intellectual interests; 2) teaching of history; 3) professional activities; 4) relations with colleagues and school administrators. The survey consisted of two questionnaires that complemented one another: a framed mail questionnaire and an interview-in-depth. A majority of the respondents indicated that the institute: offered intellectual stimulus, motivated participants toward continued intellectual development, changed the manner in which participants viewed history, and helped them to change course content and form. Fifty five percent of those interviewed increased their pattern of professional activities as a result of attending institutes. Participants judged that institutes were well organized and directed, offered valued subject matter instruction, and provided contact with other participants and offered suggestions for future institute programs. A related document is SO 002 763. (SJM)

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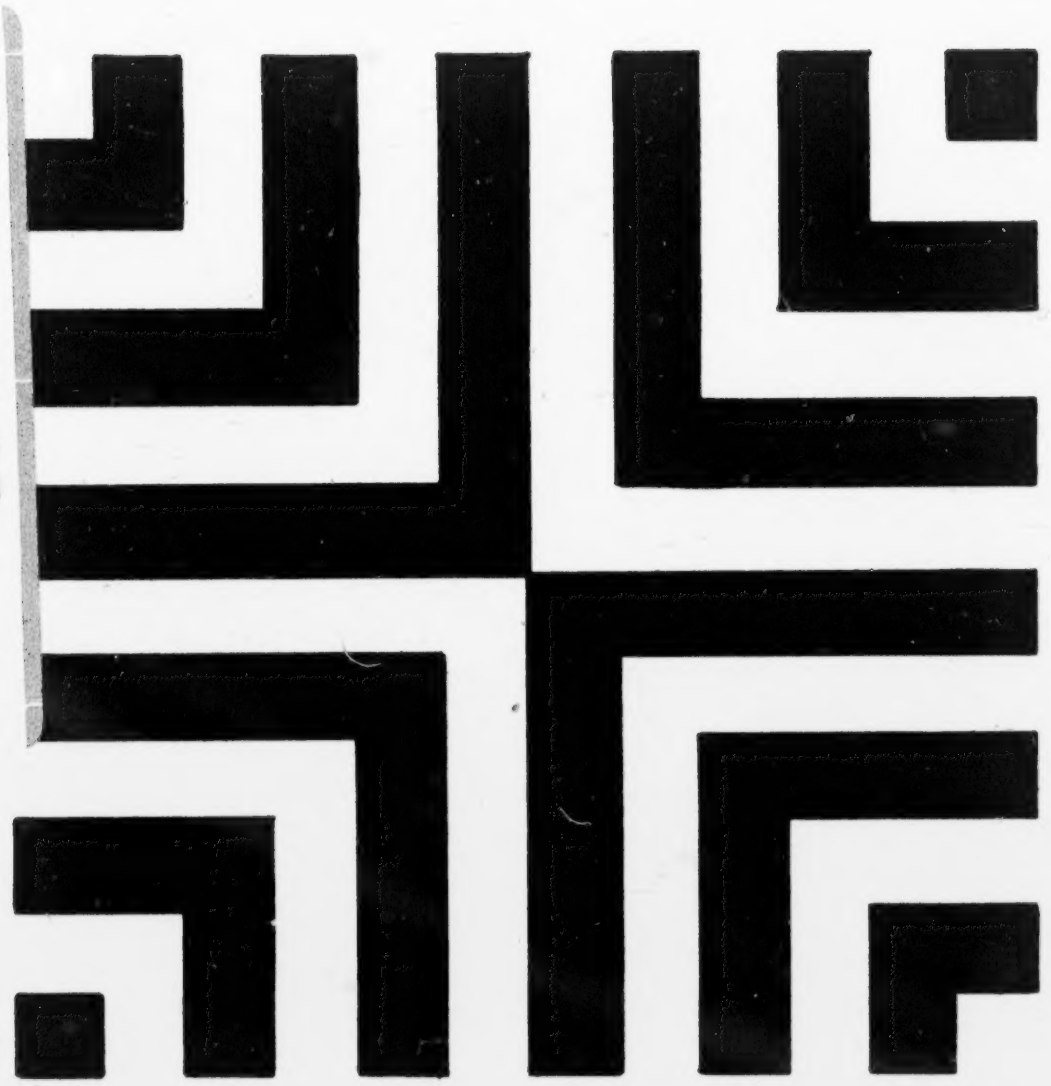

THE 1965 HISTORY INSTITUTES REVISITED

REPORT OF A SURVEY TEAM / BY JAMES LEA CATE / UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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THE 1965 HISTORY INSTITUTES REVISITED

"It Was Wonderful!!" or, "Man, I Got Took."?

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University of Chicago

for

The American Historical Association

Sponsored by

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I. A Note on the Survey

During the summer of 1965 the American Council of Learned Societies sponsored a survey of the eighty-four National Defense Education Act Institutes for advanced study for teachers of history held on eighty-two college and university campuses in thirty-seven states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico. This was the first time history institutes had been available under federal auspices, and the United States Office of Education provided billets for some 3,150 participants, not surprisingly over 80 per cent of whom turned out to be teachers of history or the social studies in public junior and senior secondary schools.[1]

A large and talented survey team made a thorough study of the history institute program with on-site inspections of forty-one institutes, interviews of their directors, instructors and participants, administration of a structured questionnaire to all participants at eighty institutes, and several conferences to discuss the evidence amassed. The results of the investigation were summarized in a report edited by Professor John M. Thompson of Indiana University, which was published in the AHA Newsletter, IV, No. 3 (February, 1966) and in fuller form in a separate pamphlet (April, 1966) under the title Teachers, History, and NDEA Institutes, 1965. The report was as well-conceived and objective as could have been wished; its findings should be of deep concern to all teachers of history, from high school to graduate school, and to those who pay us whether by taxes, tuition, or gift. One item could not be reported on at that time, and unfortunately it was the key question as the editor points out:

> This article summarizes the final report of the survey. But its findings are necessarily tentative. The real test of the effectiveness of 1965 institute training in history will be what happened to the teachers—and to their students—after they returned to their classrooms. (AHA Newsletter, IV, No. 3, pp. 4-5)

In an effort to add the needed postscript to the final report, the American Historical Association contracted to sponsor, for the ACLS, a "follow-up" survey—incidentally to check some of the findings of the first survey, but primarily to see whether and how the institutes improved the teaching of history in the schools.

[1]Approximately 8 per cent of those accepted by the institutes were teaching in the elementary grades (1-8), and approximately 15 per cent were in full- or part-time supervisory positions. Nine per cent of the participants were teaching at private schools.

At a preliminary meeting of interested persons convened at ACLS headquarters in New York by Paul L. Ward, Executive Secretary of the AHA, the scope and nature of the study were roughly sketched in and a tentative list of personnel was drawn up.[2] In some sense, both scope and nature were affected by finances, the latter more than the former. Since the charge was a limited one, it made little sense to repeat in depth the earlier investigations by our colleagues, so we decided to try only to learn if in general the participant had changed his mind about his institute since his replies to earlier questionnaires, whether he had any ideas about the institute that might be of value, and finally how the institute had affected his teaching and his professional life. As for the nature of the survey, we decided that with a modest budget and a limited time schedule, we must be content with a carefully framed mail questionnaire and an interview-in-depth with a smaller sample of participants; we would keep the working staff small and the general conferences few. Ideas about both forms of inquiry changed from time to time as we tried to balance the desire for a thorough inquiry against the cold logic of the budget officers. In the last analysis it was the comforting views of the statistical experts that resolved our dilemma: they could, they said, analyze the opinions of a 10 per cent sample that for all practical purposes would be as valid as a poll of the entire paricipant population. So we would lead off with a lengthy write-in questionnaire with ninety-three questions, many repeating closely those of the earlier survey; replies from a 10 per cent stratified (by state of residence) random sample of participants would be used. The other set of data would be derived from an interview-in-depth of about forty-five participants (in actual practice, forty-two), carefully selected in terms of geographic origin, nature of the community of the teacher's school, and institute attended;[3] here, as in the written questionnaire, some non-representative types (such as the four institutes for elementary teachers) were excluded. To these formal and controllable sources of information we added others, not insignificant in value: the combined wisdom of some who had been connected with the first survey, or with the

[2]As the survey team finally shaped up it comprised: James L. Cate, University of Chicago, Director; Gerald W. Marker, Indiana University, Administrative Assistant; Bertram B. Masia, University of Chicago, Educational Evaluation Consultant.

[3]To maximize variability among interviewees with respect to the geographical area and type of community in which they worked,

institutes themselves, and of some other persons interested in the general problems of history teaching; the findings of a number of surveys conducted by individual institutes; and the results of a number of pilot interviews in the Chicago metropolitan area and in Indiana by members of our team.

Gradually the scope of the inquiry took firmer shape. Our idea was to focus on the participant rather than the institute and the participant as teacher and as member of our common profession. First we would find what his aim had been in attending and whether that aim had been realized; whether in these matters and in others his views had changed since he had responded to the earlier questionnaire; and at the end we called for a brief overall evaluation of his institute and offered an opportunity for personal comments. But the bulk of the questions would be addressed to four areas: how did attendance at the institute affect (1) the participant's intellectual interests; (2) his teaching of history; (3) his professional activities outside the classroom; and (4) his relations with colleagues and school administrators? It is our intention in this report to summarize briefly our findings on each of these broad areas of inquiry; to comment editorially rather than in cold scientific terms on the deeply rooted conflict of ideas about how best to train a history teacher; and finally to offer a few tentative suggestions with the pious hope that they may at least invoke further thought if not action.

With the aims thus loosely defined, the working staff drew up lists of questions for the mail questionnaire and the oral

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the following specifications were drawn up for the interview sample:

	Northeast	South	Midwest	West/ Southwest
Very large city: 1,000,000	New York City			
Suburban areas of very large cities			Detroit	Los Angeles
Middle-size city: 250,000-500,000		Memphis		
Small Cities: 25,000-90,000			Salinas and Manhattan, Kan.	Bakersfield, Calif. / Odessa, Tex.
Rural areas in vicinity of:	Harrisburg, Pa.	Albany, Ga.		

In each of the nine cells, eight participants were chosen at random, five of whom were to be interviewed. Actually, forty-two participants were interviewed. They attended thirty-two different institutes.

interview, changing both repeatedly after further discussion and the valuable experiences of the dry-run interviews-in-depth. On March 27, 1966, the advisory committee,[4] meeting at the O'Hare Inn outside Chicago with the working staff, approved the general plan and, with revisions, both schedules of questions. Some general agreement was reached as to the extent of the oral interviews feasible within our budget, and as to the factors to be considered in choosing the participants to be interviewed and the interviewers. Subsequently, on April 29, the written questionnaire was mailed out. By that time the nine interviewers had been chosen[5] and had received their instructions; they completed their interviews by the middle of May. On the 22nd they met with the director and administrative assistant at the O'Hare Inn in a long and illuminating discussion of the results of the interviews. Analysis of the mail questionnaire was done in June and the first half of July.

No one could ask for more efficient and cheerful cooperation than that which we have had in our study. This one might readily expect in the hard core of professional helpers, but the same spirit was manifest as well among others to whom we turned for aid. The interviewers we approached accepted without demur an additional and demanding chore at an awkward season, and they served with an obvious sense of mission. Of the forty-odd first choices as subjects for the oral interview, only one declined and he because he thought that a recent promotion to an administrative position disqualified him to speak as a teacher. On the written questionnaire, we received, on the original mailing to 822 randomly chosen participants,[6] a return of better than 60 per cent without a

[4]The advisory committee consisted of Miss Adeline Brengle, President, National Council for the Social Studies; Richard H. Brown, Amherst Project (Amherst College and Newberry Library); Gilbert C. Fite, University of Oklahoma; Philip Montag, University of Chicago High School; Joseph R. Strayer, Princeton University; David F. Trask, University of Nebraska; ex officio, Paul L. Ward and Robert L. Zangrando, American Historical Association.

[5]Leon E. Boothe, University of Mississippi; Alan Brownsword, Long Beach State College; David Burner, Oakland University; Floyd F. Ewing, Midwestern University; Ira Marienhoff, High School of Music and Art, New York City; Robert R. Roberts, San Bernardino State College; W. Stitt Robinson, University of Kansas; Orville W. Taylor, Wesleyan College, Macon, Ga.; Nicholas Varga, Loyola College, Baltimore, Md.

[6]That is, as Dr. Masia explained in his capacity as Evaluation Consultant, three 10 per cent stratified (by state of residence) ran-

follow-up, a return percentage that I am told is remarkable. There was no doubt about the 1965 participants: a school year later they were still eager to talk about their summer at an NDEA history institute.

This is an important fact to recall when one tries to assess the value of our evidence. Unlearned in such matters, I am content to accept the judgment of our experts as to the validity of our sampling techniques. But the evaluation of the evidence is a responsibility which no historian would shirk. The two questionnaires, mail and interview, were complementary. In general they sought the same information, though each contained some questions discrete to itself. The oral questions tended to be broader, even looser, in scope, and it was left to the interviewer to probe for qualifications and for specific examples to justify or illustrate the respondent's generalizations. The mail questionnaire was strictly a machine-graded type, consisting of true-false and multiple choice questions. Most of the questions served to check the more subjective replies to the oral interview as well as to quantify the information sought. Other questions served to test the validity of the results of a similar inquiry used in the original survey.

But however successful we might be in reducing the composite replies of our respondents to tabular form, our judgments must still remain largely subjective. The participant himself was the sole source of information, whose creditability might be checked only by the skill of the interviewer's inquisition or the cageyness of the written questionnaire. Some questions of a factual nature were innocuous enough to lend credence to replies. Others called for personal value judgments that only the respondent himself could vouch for, and here we could only watch out for what the psychologist calls the "social desirability" effect, the human tendency to give the reply that seems desired or that redounds most to the participant's prestige. A few questions were ill-conceived, others ineptly phrased.

The problem of evidence was most crucial in what we considered the most important area, that dealing with the participant as teacher. In our earlier planning we had intended

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dom samples of 274 participants each. The 10 per cent sample used in the data analysis was assembled from these three samples. Although it was hoped to obtain a sample of 274, the final sample came to 266 participants. In the three-sample substitution design employed, questionnaires were <u>not</u> returned from all members of eight "triplets."

to check the participant's replies against a separate interview with his principal, supervisor, chairman, librarian, or other administrative officer, but in the dry-run interviews the administrators showed little knowledge of what went on in the classroom. So we scrapped the idea and for information were thrown back entirely upon the respondent himself. Without the Fifth Amendment as shield, he was asked to commit himself on whether in fact he had fulfilled the sole purpose for which his government had invested a considerable sum in his education. It was easy to get a general reply to this question, but in probing for specific examples the original reply was often modified, even to the point of reversal.

One additional form of evidence proved of great value. A longtime non-responder to mail questionnaires, the director sent with each copy of ours an apology and an invitation for the respondent to add any comments or criticisms on the questionnaire itself or on the institute. The response was far beyond expectations and was most welcome. For the 10 per cent mail sample of 266, no fewer than 243 persons took the trouble of writing in comments additional to our inquiry. Some wrote only a few lines, but many wrote thoughtful and substantial comments pro and con that ran in some cases to two single-space, typewritten pages, and one participant even attached an article he had written about his institute. Perhaps the most surprising thing of all was the fact that a large proportion ended their replies with a note of thanks ("I appreciate having been asked to complete this questionnaire.") or of willingness to aid us further ("I welcome any questions or correspondence concerning NDEA; I am extremely interested in this program."). Some of the criticisms of the questionnaire we had anticipated: that not all questions were applicable to all participants; that in trying to assess the effects of the institute in briefly phrased questions we may sometimes have sounded a little supercilious ("Your questions make history teachers sound like a bunch of idiots before taking the institute."); or that we did not allow the respondent enough leeway to express his own views precisely. This last complaint, of course, is inherent in the form we used. One respondent summed up my own feeling as well as her own: "Some of the questions cannot be answered with a single phrase, a yes or no response. You can become so objective that you lose the essence and spirit of camaraderie that sometimes exists in an institute of this sort." Fortunately these free-will comments added by so many of the teachers <u>do</u> preserve some of the essence and spirit; as an aid in interpreting the statistical evidence I have relied heavily on these and on the similar in-

formal responses to the interviews, and in the hope of bringing these teachers closer to the reader I shall quote freely from both. In so doing I am only following the teaching device so many of the teachers found enlightening last summer, the return to the documents. One could almost believe that these personal reports are so illuminating when read en masse that a useful report might consist of no more than a reprint of the whole corpus, arranged after the fashion of Abelard's Sic et Non, thus leaving to the reader the task of deciding which of the respondents was right: she who said of her summer's experience, "It was wonderful!!" or he who said, "Man, I got took."

In any event, I am most grateful to the many busy teachers who took time to help us in our task.

II. View of the Institute, Before and After

1) Constancy of Opinion. In a follow-up survey it is of considerable importance to know the degree to which the respondent still holds to the views he expressed in the earlier survey, both as a possible check against the validy of the first study and as an indication of possible change as a result of attendance at the institute. In the mail questionnaire we asked whether the participant's views had changed since summer: 53 per cent said no, 14 per cent had changed to views much more favorable, 28 per cent to somewhat more favorable views, and only 3 per cent to views somewhat less favorable. It must be pointed out that ratings of general features[7] of the institute made in May, 1966, in terms of both how they contributed to the participant's knowledge and understanding of the subject matter and how they improved his skills and capabilities as a teacher of history and the social studies, are not as positive as the same ratings made the previous summer in the last few days of the institute. Of ten ratings made of major aspects of the institute, the mean rating on nine of the ten was less positive in May than in the previous summer.

[7]Five major features or "components" of an institute were used by both survey teams. These were (1) instruction in the subject matter, (2) application of the subject matter to classroom teaching, (3) instruction in the newer teaching aids (instructional and audio-visual materials), (4) special institute activities (field trips, special lectures, etc.), and (5) interaction with other participants and with the institute staff.

Thus time and the return to the realities of teaching and the school tended to reduce the participant's optimism over what the institute has done for him.

The results of the personal interview were not too different: 60 per cent reported no change, 40 per cent changes for the better of varying degrees, but all for the better. One person gave a balanced judgment: he tended "to forget minor irritants as time passed," but found that "the realities of the classroom tempered some of the optimism at the end of the institute;" still, he rated his reply as "no change." In some sense this was a delicate question, where the participant might consider a negative response a confession of inconstancy. As one respondent said, "I think I was objective then and haven't changed now." Perhaps the slightly higher admission of change in the mail inquiry is the measure of its anonymity. Where respondents commented on their changes, the pattern is fairly standard: like the old grad at a class reunion, the participant had mellowed enough to forget or forgive the dull lecture, the surly professor, the grading system, or the heavy reading assignment, and had come to appreciate some of the solid gains that had earlier escaped him. This question, with the strongly optimistic tone of the replies, in some fashion sets the pitch for the whole survey. There are plenty of criticisms, many discerning and constructive, some personal or even petty; but the participant of the institute class of '65 is a loyal alumnus.

2) Aims in Attending. Whatever the objectives of a benevolent government or the institute directors, what was important to the participant were the personal aims and expectations that decided him to attend an institute, and it was against those personal aspirations that he tended to judge the institute. The motives that influenced him were mixed; rarely did he see his choice in simplistic terms, but in his mind, at least, his reasons were primarily intellectual and professional. Asked in the mail questionnaire to choose an aspect of the history institute which was of parmount import to him when he applied, he rated them thus: subject matter instruction, 47 per cent; application of subject matter to classroom teaching, 31 per cent; instruction in use of new materials (printed and audio-visual), 6 per cent; aid in revising or devising a curriculum, 8 per cent; opportunity to meet college history faculty and participants from other regions, 6 per cent.

The interview question was phrased somewhat differently, "What did you expect to gain from attending an institute?," and under the probing of the interviewers it produced a more

varied but more heavily biased view. In reply, 78 per cent said they expected to obtain a wider or deeper knowledge of historical subject matter, 17 per cent desired instruction as to how to use new subject matter in class, and 2.5 per cent each wanted intellectual stimulus (content?) or a chance to meet teachers from other areas. Second choices of 12 per cent each strengthen the two chief aims of subject matter and use, but beyond these favorite replies some interesting secondary interests appear. The chance to meet other teachers attracted 7 per cent. Some 22 per cent were candid in acknowledging non-academic interests—in travel, in visiting historic and scenic sites, in sharing a vacation with the family even if it meant living with the in-laws, as it did in several cases. Finances were of course important: 12 per cent found the arrangement attractive (a telling comment on teacher salaries!), but as many denied specifically that this had been a motive with them, and several suffered financial loss, in one case involving a deficit of $2,000 in attending an institute in Alaska; but on the credit side this participant and his family saw the midnight sun on June 21, and he shot a caribou. Another participant lost money by "not working for General Motors" that summer. A few admitted having been "pressured" by chairman or supervisor but took no umbrage at that. A few went to improve their professional standing (by means undefined), while 8 per cent denied any hope of advancement; similarly 23 per cent counted on receiving graduate credits, while a few others said they went without that expectation. Two individuals (from the same background and the same institute) had hoped to find in the institute a "prelude to further graduate study." A substantial number sought intellectual stimulus (again through channels unnamed), and a few were strongly interested in meeting "name" professors.

Now none of these subsidiary motives were trivial or unworthy, but they were not the compelling motives. Almost every participant in anticipation saw the institute as a means of improving himself in his chosen profession of teacher. Two means they stressed: they wanted to increase their substantive knowledge of history and their understanding of its meaning, whether in a refresher program, a deepening of knowledge in a familiar field, or by a fresh introduction to some new or exotic field; and many (though fewer) wanted to learn more about how to translate the newly acquired knowledge into a pattern which could successfully be used in their high school classes. In the abbreviated language of the interview, the participants tended to refer to the former aim as "subject matter" or "content," to the latter as "method." To many of them

(and of us) the term "method" has a pejorative flavor, reminiscent of unhappy undergraduate experiences in "Ed" courses, so that one respondent could say he went "for course content, not method." Some of them and some of our helpers prefer to speak of "teaching strategies." Perhaps this is more than a face-saving euphemism (though the examples that appear in the survey seem more akin to tactics than to strategy), and perhaps the term implies just the sort of experience that the hopeful participant expected, but in this report I shall cling to the terms that come most naturally to my respondents and myself.

3) Realization of Aims. To what extent did the participants realize the high hopes with which they had enrolled in the institutes? This was of prime concern to them, and, to the degree that their aims were valid, of concern to all connected with the NDEA experiment. For the overwhelming majority of the teachers, there was no doubt: they had got what they had come for or a reasonable facsimile thereof. Again the results from the field interviews and the mail questionnaires were similar. In the write-in, 87 per cent found their expectations realized, 47 per cent fully, 40 per cent partially. Only 11 per cent said no; of these, half were because of a failure of the institute, half because of the participant's misunderstanding of its function. In the oral interview, 77 per cent were in some measure satisfied—14 per cent beyond their expectations, 40 per cent fully, 23 per cent partially. Contrariwise, 23 per cent did not get what they had gone for.

The comments of the respondents to the interview questions help explain their replies. Through a curious chance in the selection of interviewees, about half of the negative vote here came from teachers from the same area, a similar background, and in most cases from the same institute; they represented culturally deprived communities, and their main concern was some instruction in how to teach history to slow learners. There were other disappointments—a lack of instructional materials on hand; little opportunity for contact with other participants; unsatisfactory instructors, for example—but both with these respondents and with those who found their hopes only partially satisfied the main complaint was the failure to show how to put over to high school students the new body of historical knowledge and the fresh interpretations so redundantly supplied them. At the other extreme were those who got their money's worth and an extra dividend: the institute "met all my expectations and more"; "went beyond my expectations"; "was extremely worthwhile intellectually";

was "intensive, 'fantastic' "; left him "enthusiastic about the degree of fulfillment." Now the interesting point about these comments is that read in quantity they give a distinct impression of two fairly distinct types of participants in regard to their concept of an institute, and in this question the majority's slogan was "content, si; method, no!"

III. Intellectual Effects of the Institute

4) Intellectual Stimulus. In both inquiries we asked whether the institute had afforded intellectual stimulus or excitement. Perhaps the question was too leading. The written replies ran 90 per cent yes, 5 per cent no, 5 per cent undecided. The interview vote looked like a Hitler plebiscite, with no Nein ballots and only one qualified Ja to prove it was an open election. This one dissident found stimulus "only occasionally," as from one guest lecturer, while other professors "were dull and even taught him how boring history could be." Undoubtedly others sometimes caught a professor in a bad Monday morning session, but the evidence, statistical and lyrical, gives overwhelming proof that the participants found, each in his own way, the spark that in itself could make the summer a success. The source of the spark varied, as individuals found it in the subject matter presented; in the guest lecturers and the opportunity to talk with them; in exchanging views with colleagues from other parts of the country; in the chance for intensive reading—a luxury to them in a sense hardly appreciated by the university or college teacher; in the introduction to belles lettres as legitimate historical material or to new historical interpretations and concepts and philosophies; or in field trips to historic sites.

The specific replies to the interviewers or the questionnaire are more revealing than the poll percentages. For one participant the stimulus came "only from the view of opening new doors of thought"; for another because a professor "introduced him to literature"; for another because one local professor "excited us"; for another, from the "general intellectual challenge." Others got a lift from "exciting new concepts"; or from the many "bull sessions which were excellent"; or from "the reading quantity which was challenging." One participant said that the institute "made me aware I needed more 'content matter' "; another found the desired content in Negro history, commenting that "most Negroes don't study Negro history enough"; another found it in a newly instilled

interest in Parkman. For one the "courses were extremely valuable"; another liked "especially the seminars and contact with persons who knew more history"; another, "the new materials, challenging professors." A teacher who was "definitely" stimulated found his thinking and teaching strongly influenced by his introduction to economic interpretations of history. Another who replied with a "high affirmative" found at a not-too-famous university "an excellent history department, facilities, academic freedom." It is perhaps significant that though some participants profited by the instruction in methods, few if any offered this as an example of the stimulating factors.

One cannot discount the ring of sincerity in these replies, the sort of reward that might send a professor away cheerful after a long hot summer. One teacher summed it up thus: "I was immensely pleased with the Institute then, and still am. I rode the crest for many months once school resumed." It is evident that the excitement that occurred was not the work of the professors alone; the participant made his contribution. Such statements may remind us of the motto over the proscenium of the Goodman Theater at Chicago: "You yourselves must set flame to the faggots which you have brought."

5) Continuing Intellectual Activity or Development. Participants sometimes used two expressive locutions: "posthol-ing," meaning digging deeply in a small area, or concentrating; and "shotgunning," meaning a broad or even scattered approach. This question was pure shotgunning, an ambitious attempt to follow the intellectual stimulus into continuing results. The introductory question as to whether the institute had made a lasting contribution to the participant's intellectual life elicited again an enormously affirmative response, 88 per cent on the write-in, 75 per cent in the interviews, but the value in the question lies in the probing queries that follow. These in general tend to give a rosier picture for the written answers than for the interviews.

Reading is a good example. Many of those interviewed praised the institutes for giving them time and incentive to read intensively, and for giving them up-to-date bibliographies. When asked if the institute had caused any changes in their reading habits, 60 per cent answered yes; the negative response included a significant number who in some indignation affirmed that they had already read widely and with discrimination before attending the institute. On the written questionnaire, 71 per cent said they had read more, 66 per cent had changed the type of reading, 87 per cent had read

some books recommended at the institute, as against 76 per cent of those interviewed. But the statistics give a false impression. When pressed for detail, many interviewees could recall only a title or author or two, some none at all. Some had read only a single book, most of them two or three, others vaguely "some" or "five or six." One bibliophile named half-a-dozen and had read others "too numerous to mention," but totalling about thirty. A write-in respondent said, "I haven't stopped reading since. I often am reading as many as six to ten books at a time." One rural junior high teacher who travels twenty-two miles to work, "read immediately after the institute but school work keeps him bogged down." Another now reads more books, fewer magazines: "Before, one book a year; already, three or four books in the history field." This was a very sharp rate of increase, but the base was unbelievably low.

When asked whether they related what they read to what they had learned at the institute, 86 per cent of the write-ins and 76 per cent of those interviewed said yes. The latter mentioned as examples several books recently read, but in most instances they referred to some current issue in the news: Vietnam, China, Rhodesia, South Africa, the Dominican Republic, the cold war, the Supreme Court. If these seem to reflect an undue emphasis on the present in the institutes, others show deeper historic roots—a comparison of the civil rights movement today with that of Reconstruction, or a study of voting in Alabama during Reconstruction.

As for reading more critically, 82 per cent of the written answers and 70 per cent of the oral ones said that the respondent now so read as a result of the institute. Others among those interviewed were careful to explain that their negative statement merely indicated that they had read critically long before the summer of 1965.

We thought that the intellectual stimulus of the institute should have been reflected in the participant's communication with others in what he wrote and what he said, but our efforts to sense this effect were not very successful. On the question about writing, we made a gross error which reflects again the university bias. In hiring a high school teacher you do not ask for his publication record any more than you ask a prospective appointee to graduate school for evidence that he can teach. One of our helpers in the field reminded us of our gaucherie: "None of the interviewees wrote before or after, and I should think it a rare high school teacher who would, though all seemed a bit ashamed of this answer." Of those who were interviewed, 88 per cent had written nothing that

stemmed from the institute experience; the others included teachers who had written reports or articles on the institute, or a new curriculum or syllabus inspired by the experience, and one lucky scholar who was able to use material from an institute course in a thesis. One said hopefully, "Not yet." And one gave a reply that would please any instructor: "I wrote a one-page article on the institute. My writing improved sharply as a direct result of strong criticism in the first weeks of the institute." On the plus side too I must include the many participants whose sincere and informative letters have been so helpful to me in getting a feel of the institutes. I only hope I can pass on to a wider audience the gist of what they "wrote" to me.

In regard to oral communication we did somewhat better. On the write-in, 54 per cent said they had taken part in formal discussions (lectures, panels, interviews, etc.) in which they found institute experiences useful; in informal discussions, 94 per cent had. In the interviews, 78 per cent had found such experiences useful in either formal or informal talk, as they told friends and colleagues about what had happened during the summer, or passed on newly gained information, or talked with new confidence about economic determinism or American literature or the Far East. It seems appropriate to mention that some speak of talking "with enthusiasm." May they prosper!

6) View of History. When we asked, "Do you think attendance at the institute has changed in any manner the way in which you view history," we were trying in a roundabout fashion to get at the participant's philosophy of history without scaring him off with such a term. We were not trying to learn if his view was Augustinian or Rankean or Marxist, rather how in his class did he try to justify to a young and rootless generation a required excursion into a foreign and dimly lighted past. As usual, circumlocution failed of its purpose. Both sample groups rose loyally to the implications of the question with precisely the same 72 per cent affirmative vote. Those who responded no in the interview said they needed no change: "already had a clear idea of history"; "had major in history; been interested in these questions a long time." From others, probing elicited some irrelevant or innocuous remarks bearing on content or curriculum changes. Other participants said they had got "a better idea of the nature of history"; or a "more real idea"; or "new views"; or a "world view"; or a "scholarly view"; or a "more sophisticated view." Many had become interested in "new interpretations" (usually

unnamed) or in a "broader cultural interpretation" or in an intellectual or an economic interpretation or one based on nationalism. Others were now "less dogmatic"; or more inclined to "check for objectivity and subjectivity"; or had a "sharper appreciation of bias." One has found in history a "constancy of change"; another a sort of modified idea of progress; another only now has come to realize history's "immensity and complexity." A few had found questions that went beyond content or interpretation. One had tried "his own views in application to the present." Another was concerned about "how we use history." The summary of the interviewer on the responses to this question by two participants should dispel any fears that we are dealing with teachers who do not think. Of one it is said, "the institute took him deeper into the possibilities of history as a tool for the contemporary world and into the subtle limitations on history's use in that role." The other teacher "certainly gained a broader view of the role of history in education, and, as he expressed it, he has begun to wrestle with what he calls 'the meaning of history.'"

IV. The Effects of the Institutes on Classroom Teaching

For the individual participant probably the most important effect of attendance at an institute was the intellectual stimulus he got; to those who had framed the NDEA program, the participant was agent rather than principal, and the most important effects were those which he could transfer to high school students in his classroom. To measure success in teaching is under any circumstances very difficult, because of lack of agreement both on goals and on methods of measuring. Here our difficulty is compounded by the fact that our only evidence comes from the subjects themselves. When by accident we had one opportunity to check that sort of evidence, the results were tragic. One of our interviewers had received from a respondent a favorable comment on his institute and an enthusiastic report on what he was doing in class. He was a mature teacher with a good academic background and a responsible concern for his teaching. He invited the interviewer to visit his class. It proved to be a crashing bore, and worse, the teacher did not seem to realize this! But we must do what we can with the information we have gathered, and I can only take comfort in recalling that over the years I have voted to call many an historian to a tenure position in my department,

and on no single one did I have as much information about his ability to teach as we have amassed about these teachers.

For the interviews, we tried a combination of "shot gunning" and "postholing"; that is, we asked one general question as to the effects of the institute on teaching, then a number of probing questions about how those effects had been realized. The written questionnaire supports these latter with its fuller sampling.

7) General Effects on Teaching. When asked if the institute experience had affected the way they teach history, 83 per cent of those interviewed said yes; of those who said no, about half qualified the straight negative by some such remark as "no major change but more thorough course," and others had some reasonable explanation: one was teaching nothing but the history of his own state and found little chance to introduce materials newly acquired; another had been shifted from a class of excellent students to one of disadvantaged children and found the same frustration.

Most of the respondents gave some statement of what they considered the most important or significant effects; the persistent refrain is that they introduced new content and new interpretations in their classes, but many of them speak also of new modes of handling the new content. Such details appear in more usable form in the follow-up questions, but it is perhaps worthwhile making two points here. One is that the new command of subject matter was important not only intrinsically in adding to the knowledge purveyed to the student, but also because it gave a great boost to the self-confidence and thereby to the effectiveness of the teacher. Thus one teacher, who was influenced by the example of a guest lecturer to put more detail into his lectures, found that "students have more confidence in a teacher who knows what he is talking about." The other point is that some of what the participants learned about teaching cannot be reduced to objective questions. Thus one teacher said that "the institute showed him that the more the student is involved, the better he will be." He went on to list some of the things he had done to involve students, but the general truth he had learned was more important than any of the gimmicks he used.

8) Effect on Form or Content of Courses. We tried to shift the emphasis slightly by focusing on the course, asking the interviewees if any changes had been made or planned in form or content. Again there was an overwhelmingly positive response of 74 per cent against 26 per cent no. Many of the examples were repetitions of those of the preceding question,

though there was more talk of new syllabi, new approaches, new units, new interpretations. Again content seemed more important than form. It is curious that while a number of the no responses come from teachers in backward high schools in Southern rural areas where poverty prevented them from making the improvements they wished, another no was from a New York teacher with the comment, "We can't plan that in NYC; we can (only) do this off the record."

In the next seven questions we have tried to find out specifically what changes the participant made in procedure. Here the data from the written questionnaire is more precise quantitatively and may be cited in simplified form; but the comments on the oral questions are sometimes most enlightening.

9) Changes in Reading Assignments. When asked if they had made changes in their reading assignments as a result of the institute, 67 per cent of the participants interviewed said yes, 28 per cent no. Some increased the quantity of reading assigned, but more important, they changed the nature of the readings. A few eliminated or changed the textbook they had used; others began to use the sort of document or source collection they had seen at the institute or added new books and periodicals of a miscellaneous nature. Several had first been introduced to the use of literary works as historical sources, and as a teacher of medieval history I am delighted that one respondent added to his assignment the Nibelungenlied, another Chaucer's Canterbury Tales. But the great change-over was to paperback books, another instance in that revolution in communications, comparable in importance to the invention of the ball-point pen if not to the printing press itself. With bibliographies covering the courses they had taken and often enough with a box of the paperbacks in the trunk of the car, the participants came home eager to pass on to students this new key to knowledge. Assignments became closely tied in with procurement, and here success depended on the nature of the school and its administrators and the ingenuity of the returning participant. A teacher in a slum area high school in a large Southern city found the handicaps too hard for immediate change—overcrowded classrooms, multiple shifts for students, and an inadequate library: given an encyclopedia set, the school could find no place to keep the volumes for consulting! In a rural Negro school which had just got a library this year, the teacher still had to struggle against the handicaps of a poor environment: many homes had coal oil lamps. Another Negro teacher, however, assigned reading in paperbacks and found his students "go out and buy" them; he had

also an open reading shelf and asked for oral book reports, and encouraged students to introduce materials they read outside class. Another teacher brought back twenty books, which he kept in his office and loaned to the kids. Yet a teacher in an industrial suburb in Michigan complained that "paperbacks are too expensive for kids to buy." One participant who praised his institute "recognized he should be doing more in this area, but did not know exactly how to proceed." Yet others were making flexible and imaginative assignments and showing initiative in getting the needed materials.

The accent on variety is borne out in the answers to the written questionnaire. Whereas some 53 per cent of the respondents increased the quantity of their assigned reading, and 52 per cent raised the level of sophistication, 72 per cent gave students a wider choice of materials, 66 per cent increased the porportion of non-textbook readings, and, specifically, 65 per cent made greater use of documents or source materials. The amount of the changes in any category may not have been extensive, but by any reasonable standards the institutes had done a fine job in weaning their participants from the homogenized pap of the textbooks and starting them on a more balanced adult diet.

10) Changes in Lectures. One senses in the totality of the evidence about the institutes a bias against too heavy a reliance on lecturing to high school classes, no matter what may have been the favorite teaching method at the institutes. But when asked about changes made in the use of lectures as a result of attendance there, the quantitative changes were not spectacular. In the interviews, 52 per cent said they had made changes, 45 per cent had not, and in terms of increasing or decreasing the amount of lectures the replies about balance out. So also in the written questionnaire, where 44 per cent changed the amount of time devoted to lectures, 20 per cent increasing the load, 24 per cent decreasing it. The most important qualitative change was in adding new content or ideas. Most of those interviewed who reported changes commented on this, and in the write-in an overwhelming 86 per cent reported such changes.

Most persons interviewed explained the reasons for changes. One lectures more since he now has "better knowledge of subject"; another because his lectures are now more stimulating and "students appreciate more lectures"; another who lectures more says that the institute "techniques observed are used now" to advantage. Those who reduce their lecturing do so usually in favor of some form of greater student partic-

ipation: "Lecturing less, more class discussion" is a common explanation. There are variants. One teacher reports "Less use. More time devoted to research and study of special topics." Another, "Shorter. No sense repeating what they have read. Must give them a fresh kind of perspective." Some who had not changed are coming to the opinion that they lecture too much; one has decided next year "he will ask the kids to do more." Several think the lecture must be used for the slow learner, as in one case where the teacher next year will let only honor students get the material covered in his lectures by assigned reading.

On the whole, most respondents interviewed seem to think their lectures have improved: they have added new information, introduced concepts and interpretations, focussed their points more sharply, supplied information not available in textbooks (such as Negro history), speak less dogmatically. One who has increased discussion in class at the expense of lecture time, now "throws out big ideas to stimulate thinking." In the write-in, 53 per cent believed they had improved their lecturing.

A negative reply about changes was not necessarily a confession of weakness. One teacher who said "no noticeable change" described his own method which "used a diversified approach with the audio-visual material and a balance between lecture, discussion, and student participation."

11) Changes in Discussion. Since time schedules for a high school history program are fairly static, one would expect a close correlation between the changes reported for lecture and discussion time: what was paid to Paul must be borrowed from Peter. This is more true of the oral than of the written questions, perhaps because of the greater precision of the latter. On the interview responses, 40 per cent said they did make some changes, 55 per cent said not. There was no effort to learn precisely how many had changed the amount of time used, but about the same number (19 per cent) volunteered the information that they had increased the discussion time as had decreased the lecture time; and that is as should be. Only a single person had cut his discussion time. The written questionnaire showed 40 per cent increasing the time, 4 per cent decreasing. Again that survey showed a heavy proportion of respondents (93 per cent) had made changes in the content; this must have included many who had said no change. And 60 per cent reported an increase in skill as discussion leaders.

Because this question seems basic to an evaluation of

the success of any effort to improve classroom procedures, it is unfortunate that our interviewers were able here to extract less detailed information than in most other areas. One non-changer found the weekly fixed schedule of two hours lecture, one hour discussion too rigid to allow useful change. Another found in his school "not enough time for small class discussion." Others said they had for years been using discussion with an ample time allowance and effective techniques, and the most they got from the institutes was a command of new materials. One realized the improvement he might make, but had done nothing; another had received a pamphlet on how to set up a good discussion program, but had changed his mind and stood pat; another said that the "caliber of students prevents much change."

On the positive side, one teacher "devoted more time to class discussion as a reaction to lack of discussion at institute!" Others added new topics for discussion, one reporting that he had "dropped the old 'drum and trumpet' for religion, music, culture." Others reported use of new materials, documents, source materials; one "doesn't stick always to textbook materials." They tried to stress cause and effect, to bring the past into the present, to examine problems in depth. And they changed their attitudes in class: one now makes "provocative statements in class to start discussion"; another "now allows the student to enter the discussion more"; another is more patient. It must be with some pride that one teacher can now report, "my word is not law any more."

12) Change in Writing Assignments. Of the participants interviewed, about half reported making changes in the nature of their writing assignments, 47 per cent saying they had, 45 per cent that they had not. The written questionnaire is somewhat more detailed in the information it affords: 30 per cent reported making more frequent assignments, 10 per cent less frequent; 56 per cent demand more non-textbook materials in papers; 39 per cent place more emphasis on book reports; 51 per cent on analysis of documents; and 51 per cent on papers requiring some synthesis of materials.

The interview replies afford some less arid information. Two teachers reported slight decreases in frequency or amount of their assignments, one to balance a newly planned program, another to allow for more quality work. For others the type of papers was severely handicapped by a lack of library facilities, in one case limited to book reports and the use of an encyclopedia (and even this was better than the school where the encyclopedia was still in mothballs). There was, too, the

case of the participant who realized the value of a better writing program but was reluctant "to go beyond what was being done."

But many of the teachers had come back from the institute with a wider store of knowledge from which to draw topics, and new ideas about the kind of topics to use. The traditional book report was perhaps relatively less important; in some cases the teacher demanded an analysis and critique—in short, a review rather than report. Some teachers tended to stress more the research paper, sometimes in addition to book reports; another, a short essay every other week, alternating with discussions of the material in the other weeks. One teacher souped up his research paper assignment by requiring oral reports on progress by students who wished to compete for an A grade—the inception here of an honors program. Others spoke of assigning fewer "fact" topics, more "opinion" or "interpretative" ones. Some gave students more leeway in selecting topics. One teacher changed his paper assignments to what he called the "defend-a-thesis" approach. An example he cited was of a boy who wrote on the idea that "the average Roman citizen had more freedom (i.e., to move, change jobs, go to church) than the average American gives him credit for." This had developed from the boy's own reading, and one can only hope his opinion did not include Diocletian's time.

There is no hint of cooperation with an English department in teaching the art of writing expository prose, but the teachers were not blind to the difficulties and importance of that task. One felt the institute had made him better able to provide bibliographical and historical advice and had taught him to be "considerably more critical on content." Another found that now he tends to "check the papers more critically for sources, style and grammar." Another said he made no change in assignment, "but the institute strengthened my own writing." For another, the institute had left him more sensitive to the plight of the student when overloaded with assignments: he with his colleagues had known "stack-ups" at the institute, but from the other side of the desk.

13) Institute Influence on Use of Audio-Visual Materials. We asked on the interview two questions about audio-visual aids, and essentially the same questions on the mail-in, though here the form was prolix enough to make it look out of all proportion. One thoughtful respondent wrote in:

> I am rather curious about the pre-occupation of these questionnaires with audio-visual materials. Is it perhaps that I am in error about their usefulness? In gen-

> eral, I cannot see that their expense justifies their frequent use. The rental fee on one 15 minute film could buy a book for our rather limited library. The price of a short movie is equivalent to 40 books in the library. Could it be that the government is looking more to economics than education in its desire to have us buy expensive equipment?

The other side of the argument that runs through all our evidence on this subject is most often summed up in the cliché, "One picture is worth a thousand words." I must admit that here my bias is with the former statement. It all depends on the picture and the words used, and whether the audience is literate or illiterate. Long before the label "audio-visual aids" was invented I had used the simpler forms such as maps, charts, slides, and records, and more recently I have gone through the traumatic experience of "editing" an educational film; my own view is that the materials are useful only to the degree that they are accurate, appropriate, and are used with imagination. Neither the mechanical ingenuity of the gadgets nor the coincidence that a fifteen-minute film just spans the time required for a cigarette break by the teacher should be a compelling argument in favor of their use. A lecture with overhead transparencies can be as boring or misleading as one without their aid. But happily for the commercial companies involved, not all respondents agree with this personal prejudice.

In reply to our question as to whether the institute had caused them to use audio-visual aids in new or different ways, 31 per cent of those interviewed said yes, 64 per cent no. In the written questionnaire, the question was broken down according to various types of aids, which brought affirmative answers varying from 29 per cent (films) to 14 per cent (slides). Several tendencies may be seen in the replies. First, there seems to have been a wide variation among the institutes in the interest and skill with which they gave instruction in the use of such materials. At one institute the faculty "did not discuss them or use them. Students were told that this was graduate history program—nothing to do with methods." In other institutes, demonstrations were held by various commercial companies, consisting chiefly it would seem of showing how to work the gadgets and how to order requisite materials. This is evident from the explanation of one participant to whom "the main advantage in the A-V part of the program was not in new techniques or methods, but in suggesting new movies, films, charts, and other content material that

the teacher could get knowledge of and then go home and order." These were valuable things to know, but had nothing directly to do with history. Again, there was apparently less enthusiasm about these materials among the better schools and more sophisticated teachers than among those with fewer advantages. Thus a teacher in a backward rural community could say about the effect of such aids, "Children seem to comprehend easier—can actually see—more dramatic." A participant from a different sort of school could say about the exhibit at his institute, "any competent Social Studies teacher would already know all that was shown and demonstrated." Those who teach the newer fields—Asia, Africa, Latin America—tend to find the materials more useful, perhaps because of their picturesque nature, perhaps because of lack of more solid materials. A typical lament about instruction in this field runs, "I wish our Institute had given some attention to audio-visual equipment and newer techniques in their use." Some institutes evidently did. Thus one teacher could report that as a result of his institute experiences he now used more types of visual presentation, "and he senses his new view of history is translated into the selection of the visual and audio material he uses." This is as it should be. Another who tripled his use of such materials uses more discussion than before. One teacher found even his use of the modest equipment he had, served as "a wedge to introduce new thinking on familiar topics."

When we put the question in the subjunctive mood and asked whether as a result of institute experiences the participant would use more audio-visual materials <u>if</u> they were more easily available, the vote in most cases followed an obvious pattern. In the interview, 57 per cent of the respondents said yes, 40 per cent no; in the write-in, 64 per cent said yes. In general, the teachers in well-equipped schools felt they were doing all they wanted to do with these media, the have-nots would have liked to have more opportunity to use equipment which in many cases had been unfamiliar to them until that summer. It was a teacher from a poor rural school who "feels it would greatly stimulate the students" to have more such equipment, and a teacher from a large city school who gave the bitterest indictment: "The audio-visual materials are terrible. The messages stray from the subject, the slowest of students seem to comprehend that something is being put over on them."

14) <u>Materials of Instruction Display</u>. We tried to find whether there had been at the institutes a display of teaching

materials or formal instruction about such materials; and if so, how useful it had been. In some part these questions overlapped those about the audio-visual aids, but the emphasis here was on the 1,000 words rather than the picture. To the first question, 83 per cent of the interviewees said yes, there had been such displays; in the second question, 62 per cent found them useful, 28 per cent did not. The displays and instruction varied widely. Some were rated "haphazard" or "not particularly good"; others were more elaborate and better structured. In some cases the display was under control of publishers' agents, with a single firm or several demonstrating their list of books. In some cases attendance was obligatory, with participants making comparisons of rival textbooks. As in so many other questions, the answer could amost be predicted on the basis of the brief curriculum vitae we had of the teacher interviewed, giving his education, experience, and present school. Those from the better schools and with wider experience in the educational world found the exhibits old hat, and their constant refrain is that there "was nothing new for anyone who has been in the business," or for "anyone who has attended a professional meeting." But for others less fortunate, the displays often proved a godsend. It is hard for a university or college professor, whose mailbox is cluttered daily with book catalogues and whose office is cluttered somewhat less frequently with publishers' representatives, to realize how hard it is for a rural teacher (or rural resident) to buy a book. At the institute they found not only lists but the book itself there in three dimensions; they saw new types of books and pamphlets; they had advice about the materials (some unprejudiced); and they bought the books to take home. One participant wanted in the future to eliminate display of all materials "except those directly related to the content of the courses being offered," but happily no such narrow rule obtained, and the excitement some of the participants felt about discovering the paperback reminds one of Keats' sonnet "On First Looking into Chapman's Homer." An example of the practical advantage of such displays may be found in the experience of one rural teacher who attended his institute's special course on materials and methods, was there introduced to new materials, and obtained a list of such and instructions about how to get them. On returning home, he immediately requested his principal to purchase some and was successful; "the added material helped by making the class more interesting." So what if a more worldly-wise participant could say patronizingly that he was "already familiar with the use of the materials and so believed others got more out of it"? Apparently many did.

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15) New Historical Interpretations. For many of the institute participants, the phrase "new historical interpretations" has much the same charm as it does for a program committee for the annual meeting of the AHA. But it is a charm more recently appreciated: as one teacher said, "Before last summer, interpretation of history meant nothing to me." Since last summer it has meant something to most participants, but not the same thing to everyone. Whatever it meant, they approved of it statistically. Asked if they had tried to introduce into their teaching new historical interpretations discussed at the institute, 90 per cent of those interviewed and 92 per cent of the write-ins said yes. It was like being in favor of peace: nobody likes to say no.

There were two obvious sources of this new enthusiasm. In some institutes a course in historiography (usually American) was offered, and there the participant had presented to him the views of a number of writers on American history. If that information came via a lecture series without reading the appropriate works of the historian, the participant learned not an idea but a fact—that a man named Beard used some economic factors in trying to show how the United States Constitution had been hammered out. The other source was the regular substantive history course, whether lecture or seminar, where the student learned that in any historical problem there are various ways in which the evidence may be read and explained. Courses differed in the emphasis placed on interpretation, in the degree to which the interpretations represented the professor's own contribution, and the sort of italics he used to inform the students that this is indeed a fresh interpretation. Some participants tended to rate their institute in terms of facts vs. interpretation: one complains that X Institute lecturers gave "too much factual material and not enough interpretation"; another found very exciting a course in Colonial intellectual history, where they read some first-rate modern authors for discussion in which they were "to minimize their memorization of facts and emphasize rather a historian's thesis and his supporting evidence."

Our interest of course was in what the teacher did with these new interpretations when he got back to his classroom. The responses to requests for specific examples of application were less impressive than the statistical record. Some teachers found the new stuff too difficult or too heady for their pupils. One said that "much of what he learned was over the heads of students," another that "students are not ready for controversial issues." One tried to overcome similar handicaps by introducing new interpretations of Lincoln and of Con-

gressional Reconstruction in the form of stories. When asked for authors of the interpretations used, most stuck to reliable favorites—Turner, Beard, Walter Webb. A few seemed hard pressed to explain what interpretation was. But others who had studied exotic areas came up with some relevant remarks about the new views this study had given them.

The method of application varied too. Mostly, it would seem, teachers used a standard lecture-discussion pattern. One introduced the Turner thesis with a "few transparencies as an approach rather than explanation." Another tried to approach the frontier concept via the role of individuals. Another assigned research in such topics as the World War I guilt question, and had the students report in panel discussions. Without further evidence, it would be difficult to estimate the success of these attempts, but in a few cases the teacher himself seemed so muddled ("A motley of knowing much more," said the interviewer) that it is hard to see how the student could have profited.

16) Transfer of Content. With very minor exceptions, the participants thought that the institute professors had provided them with a rich and valuable body of historical information and interpretation; adverse criticism usually dealt with details rather than with the program as a whole. But if the ultimate beneficiary of the NDEA program was the high school student, it might seem logical that some effort should be made to insure that the participant be adequately trained in the art of passing on his newly-gained knowledge to his pupils. Opinions as to how this should be done, and by whom, and to what degree it should be emphasized, varied widely among institute directors and among participants. It is only natural then that opinions should vary too concerning the success of such efforts as were made; as compared with the generally favorable estimates of most other features of the institutes, the impression one gets here is a pessimistic one.

In the write-in questionnaire the participants were asked to rate various components of their respective institutes in terms of how each component had improved their skills and capabilities as teachers. One such component was application of subject matter to classroom teaching. Nine per cent of those replying reported that there had been no instruction in this field. Where such instruction was offered, the rating was as follows: excellent, 16 per cent; good, 39 per cent; average, 24 per cent; poor, 9 per cent. In the same context, the respondents rated instruction in subject matter in this fashion: excellent, 38 per cent; good, 43 per cent; average, 12 per cent; poor, 4 per cent.

The results of the interviews were even more dismal. When asked if attention was paid to the application of subject matter to classroom teaching at the institute, only 43 per cent of the respondents answered yes, and some of these qualified their response by some such statement as "only a little" or "only informally." Just slightly more than half of these, 24 per cent of those interviewed, answered yes when asked if this instruction helped them in their own teaching. Of the 55 per cent who said no attention had been paid to application, quite a few added brief comments: "greatest weakness"; "one of the faults of the institute"; "most disappointing." Some of the comments indeed qualified the flat no of the response ("definitely poor"; "not directly"; "only indirectly, not in class"), but these affected the letter, not the spirit, of the question.

When asked what form the instruction took, those who replied affirmatively indicated a wide range of methods. In some cases the only instruction of this sort was in connection with the audio-visual aids or other materials display, in one case "with no discussion or application of knowledge," in another with "some working with machines and how to get materials" (in the last instance, the teacher's personality was "the big block"). Often the effort was makeshift, or euphemistically, "informally organized"; or "it had two hours discussion" during the whole session or "only one assignment." At one famous university this was called "the weakest part of the program, strictly a college course, a last minute effort, a one-hour seminar on next to the last day." In one institute there was no classroom time, but a good bit of volunteer discussion among participants. One comment might have served for a fair share of the campuses: "Indirectly, yes. Directly as a pedagogical demonstration of techniques for applying a particular method to a particular content, no."

At some institutes a more serious effort was made. At one, a curriculum director was brought in from a local high school to give a series of lectures on how to present the materials. At another, a specific part of the program was aimed at the presentation of newly developed reading material and its application. In another, the participants were introduced to "gimmicks to hold student attention," and took part in the demonstration themselves. Whether haphazard or well structured, these efforts were considered valuable by the majority of those who had experienced them, and about half of that group found them of use in their own classes on return home. On the other hand, there were those who found any such instruction distasteful or superfluous. One participant whose institute had done little in this way and that little ineffectively com-

mented, "Rather not have education courses or 'how to' courses." Another expressed her intuitive distaste for the one session or application offered by participants at her institute, "I sort of feel I know that." Because these attitudes so affect the whole problem of teacher training, it seems useful to save further comment on application to a later section of this report.

V. The Institute and Professional Life

Many of the participants spoke of their pleasure and profit in being able to talk with colleagues from other schools and other areas about their common interests in a common profession. Of course the most important part of their profession was their classroom teaching, which we have tried to analyze. But there was another side to their talk that dealt with other interests: with the organizations they belonged to, the kind of job they had and the kind they wanted, and their sense of responsibility toward their job. This was talking shop; it was not always on intellectual matters, but it had enough bearing on teaching to warrant some inquiry. Here the approach of the two polls differed more than usual.

17) General Change. First we asked in the interview whether the pattern of the participant's professional activities had changed as a result of attendance at an institute; 55 per cent said yes, 45 per cent no. Again of course many of those answering in the negative went on to explain that they had always had a high sense of professional responsibility and ethics to which the institute had contributed only by confirming familiar practices; one respondent could even boast, "There was not anything I had not done before." When asked for details, participants told of joining professional societies—national, state, and local councils for the social studies, and historical associations. (The AHA got a few new members; one respondent had "wanted to subscribe to the AHA while there, but busy life has prevented action"; and another "wants to do this when financially able.") Some became more active in local organizations, or felt a greater sense of "belonging," or became "more professionally-minded." Quite a few felt a greater sense of responsibility toward their job, manifesting itself in buying books, reading, and continuing formal educational programs. But one had done little to improve his professional standing, feeling "handicapped by his school and job."

A comparison of responses to the written questionnaires filled in at the close of the institute and nine months later (May, 1966) reveals that during this period 13 per cent of the mail sample joined a national organization in history or one of the social sciences, 9 per cent joined the National Council for the Social Studies, 19 per cent joined a state or local history organization, and 19 per cent joined a state or local social studies organization.

There are other statistics to show the number of participants who as a result of attendance developed anew or merely strengthened certain types of professional activities. In many of the categories the yes-no pattern is fairly even, but in view of earlier evidence that few of the participants wrote for publication, it is interesting to note that about one-fourth of the respondents had become interested in writing articles for historical or educational journals or a textbook. It is especially significant that, given the opportunity, 67 per cent would attend graduate school full time and 94 per cent would attend another NDEA history institute.

18) Changes in Professional Plans. The interviewers also asked participants whether the institute had caused any change in professional hopes or plans. Here 60 per cent said yes, 40 per cent no. Again a negative statement did not mean the respondent was against change or improvement; in most cases he went on to explain that his own plans for advancement had antedated attendance at the institute—which indeed was an indication of his ambition. Those newly stirred had usually hoped to improve their status (or their teaching in situ) by further study—a few rugged individuals by self-planned reading, but most by continuing their formal education. Some merely wanted to take more graduate courses, but a large share wanted to go on for a Master's degree and a surprisingly large number (about 14 per cent of all respondents) for a Ph.D. For some this was planned the slow way, of returning summers or alternate summers at their own expense and grinding out the requisite "hours"; others had applied for fellowships that would allow full time return to studies. Several did get fellowships. Several also changed fields of interest as a result of institute courses, causing two to shift from other planned studies (including a Fulbright to study in Africa) in favor of the East-West Center in Hawaii.

Certainly this stimulus to further graduate work is a mark of success on the part of the institutes, but there is an ironic note that the process was in a minor degree suicidal. That is, most of the potential Ph.D.'s and some M.A. aspirants would

be lost to high school teaching if they had their way: one was "thinking about an advanced degree in administration"; another more typical participant was "thinking of going on for the Ph.D. and taking steps in the direction of college teaching." One respondent answered plaintively, "I'm bored—I would like to go on to a much higher level of teaching. I am unhappy where I am. In New York you are just another number." The institute was refreshing, but added to dissatisfaction. Another teacher had been stimulated toward further graduate work but had been stymied by financial difficulties and accordingly is "considering going into business as a salesman."

But there was another side. One participant "became aware of the necessity to have more contacts other than in the classroom. He had felt he couldn't learn any more American history, but the institute opened his eyes to the idea of never stopping learning." Another was already enrolled in a graduate program but "wanted to remain a classroom teacher." Another wrote, "I want to be more scholarly. I like teaching because I like kids. I want to read more. I intend to take more courses in professional work as well as subject matter." This looks like the very paradigm of an NDEA participant.

One specific measure of the influence of the institutes on the professional life of the participants may be found in a comparison of the replies to a similar question in the Thompson survey and in our written questionnaire as to summer occupation. In the former, 26 per cent had expected to work in non-academic jobs, in ours only 12 per cent; answers about plans to attend summer school had risen from 32 per cent to 36 per cent, and summer vacations had shrunk from 11 per cent to 8 per cent, other possibilities remaining pretty stable. These are not revolutionary gains, but they are hopeful indications.

VI. Effects of Institute Attendance upon Relations with Colleagues and Administrators

The most important influences of the institute would be shown in the relations between the returned participant and his students, but we had some interest in the reactions of his administrative officers and his fellow teachers and so directed several questions toward that matter.

19) Advance Attitude of Administrators. In the dry-run interviews we had found a curious attitude on the part of a

small number of administrators who were not too happy about their better teachers going to institutes. They feared that improvement in teaching and the kudos of the experience would lead to the loss of their best people to better suburban high schools or to graduate schools and later a college or junior college job. This is simply not borne out in the broader evidence. Of those participants interviewed, 81 per cent had consulted some administrator before applying—chairman, supervisor, principal, or even superintendent—and without fail every person consulted had offered encouragement, and support in the way of letters of recommendation; when successful, the candidate sometimes was given favorable publicity in local newsletters or the press. The administrators were interested in the new skills which they expected the teachers to gain and in such prestige as might redound to the teacher and school. In some instances the administrator actually persuaded the teacher to apply.

20) Added Responsibilities. One participant reported that his principal had been encouraging before he went and "has been pleased since; approval and possible advancement in the future." This must have been a reasonable expectation for most participants, but there was not much in the way of immediate fulfillment. When asked if they had been given any added responsibilities as a result of attending an institute, 81 per cent of the interviewees said no though a few added "not yet" or "maybe later." And indeed it is possible that the time after return was too short to see any improvements for the teacher. Some reported "slight" additions, others thought the new responsibilities had come routinely or as the result of previous demonstration of abilities. One teacher reported loss of responsibilities as a result of jealousy over attendance, adding "I have the worst program after seven years of teaching." Most of the added duties were in connection with teaching—taking over all the American history sections, or the units in Asian studies, or adding materials on Africa to the curriculum. A few respondents were made principal; one reported better relations with the administration, which had led to his appointment as co-ordinator of federal funds and summer school with a raise of $2,000. Some of the new duties were additional, others brought released time.

Here the written questionnaire was somewhat more encouraging. On this question 32 per cent reported some additional responsibilities, 68 per cent had none. Recognition outside the school was of like measure; 33 per cent of the returned teachers were asked to speak publicly or take part

in professional activity because of their attendance. One other indication of extramural interest in the participants gives very little support to the concern expressed by a very few administrators that attendance at an institute would create a new mobility among their best teachers. When asked about possible moves to another school in September, 1965, 92 per cent reported no move, 5 per cent had made moves unaffected by institute attendance, and only 2 per cent had moved as a direct result of having attended. The figures on possible moves for the next year, 1966-67, indicate that 86 per cent anticipated no change in school, 5 per cent a change resulting from institute attendance, and 7 per cent unrelated changes.

21) Reaction of Colleagues. We were interested in learning the general attitude toward institutes among the teacher colleagues of the participants, and the degree to which those participants influenced their fellows. In the oral interview the respondents were asked if any colleagues had attended an institute in 1965. The replies (yes, 64 per cent; no, 31 per cent; don't know, 5 per cent) show an unexpected concentration of successful candidates within the 32 sample high schools. When asked if any colleagues had applied but been turned down, 52 per cent said yes, 19 per cent said no, 29 per cent did not know. Again this speaks well of the schools concerned, particularly since in many instances there were successful as well as unsuccessful applicants. When asked about how their colleagues had felt about their having attended the institute, they phrased their replies in various fashions, but 64 per cent of the answers indicated approval with differing degrees of enthusiasm, 5 per cent indicated indifference, and 7 per cent indicated negative reactions, "tremendous resentment" in one case, jealousy in another, "threatened" (whatever that may mean) in another. Two curious reactions were noted in California, in which attitudes followed political views, with conservative colleagues "who didn't think tax money should be spent this way."

When interviewers asked if any colleagues would apply to an institute as a result of the participant's efforts, the response was very warming: 76 per cent said yes, 17 per cent no. Some participants answered questions about their experiences and told of advantages and warned of hard work. Others made more positive efforts to recruit candidates, praising the institute for its intellectual and social benefits, sometimes with faint praise ("worthwhile even if traditional") and giving practical counsel about how to apply. In one case, the participant encouraged his whole department to apply; often the re-

cruiting was endorsed by an administrator. In a number of instances the encouragement went to the ultimate extent of detailed instructions about how to "get in," and helping interested teachers in "filling out forms impossibly complicated and time consuming; schools slow in getting things out." Sometimes several participants teamed up in the missionary effort. The results varied. Many applicants failed, as the statistics given earlier show. In other cases the participants were not able to persuade their colleagues because of "prior course of study commitments or financial obligations." But in a surprisingly large number of cases (considering the limited number of bodies who would be accepted in the whole nation) the missionary efforts were successful. A two-man team worked with three potential candidates and all three were appointed; in another instance another team got four colleagues in. There is no question—the alumnus of 1965 was the most ardent recruiter and, one might believe, the most effective one; and like most alumni, he was critical of the official publicity, or lack of it. One respondent said, "I invited them (potential candidates) in to see the effects of the institute on my classes." One may regret not having been invited too. Projected in some magic fashion by our computer boys, it might have saved the effort of this study.

VII. Participant Judgments and Suggestions

At the beginning of this study we tried to present a brief description of how the participant had viewed the institute in anticipation and in retrospect; here it seems useful to report in somewhat more detail what he thought about the organization and direction of his institute, what he considered its strongest and its weakest features, and what he thought might be done to improve the institute in another year's session. Since these questions all involved subjective value judgments, our efforts to quantify them were not wholly successful; but the replies do indicate very definite trends, and both in the write-ins and the interviews the respondents made liberal use of their opportunities to qualify or comment on an answer.

22) Organization and Direction. On both questionnaires we asked whether the participant thought that the organization and direction of the institute had been effective. In both instances the reply was overwhelmingly affirmative: in the write-in, opinions ran 75 per cent yes, 11 per cent no, 8 per cent undecided; in the interviews, 93 per cent said yes, only

7 per cent no. Many participants qualified or extended their replies, but without modifying the strong impression that by and large management had been excellent. Some of the replies indeed went beyond what I would consider organization or direction, and dealt with the academic side of the program. My own view would be that the director's function would be to lead in the advance planning for the institute and in securing personnel, and to make all housekeeping arrangements and keep them operating smoothly. But he should have nothing to do with what goes on in the classroom (unless possibly as a teacher, not director) any more than the president or a dean in a university does. In a military chain of command, the commanding officer is responsible for all that is done or not done in his unit, but this is certainly not true in academic administration. Hence many of the glosses with which the respondents adorned their replies are more appropriate to the following sections and will be used there.

One pleasant feature of the comments is that so many make favorable remarks about the director himself, not just his work. One director was "conscientious, friendly, helpful"; another was "very accommodating even in a difficult situation"; another was "a fine man—organization, housing, classwork, everything well handled"; another "did an excellent job." I do not remember reading a serious personal criticism, which is quite unlike comment on professors, some of whom were highly lauded, others bitterly condemned. Of course the director did not have the power of "A-or-F" over the participant and was not with him so constantly, but, because of the small enrollment of the institute and the fact that it was a sort of foreign consulate within the college community, the relations of participant and director were more intimate and more important than those of the ordinary student and administrator.

In general the director seems to have done a good job in organizing his institute. This institute was "well organized and planned, blended social activities and intellectual activities"; that one, "well organized and directed . . . practically no confusion or lack of adequate preparation." Many who praised the organization qualified their views with some reference to what one called "first year confusion"; "for first year, probably good"; or "Well organized in general, but some evidence of experimentation; need for this recognized." In some cases the organization was better than the concept: one participant found "the institute as conceived well organized," but hurt by its "principal weakness in concept—the lack of attention to the pedagogical aspects" in favor of standard graduate school practices.

(34)

Participants commented pro and con about such administrative details as time schedules—with praise for arranging classes at "a reasonable hour" and censure (with which I heartily agree) about scheduling guest lectures on Friday evening by which time the truce of God should have been in effect; or a summer of guerrilla warfare with the campus cops over parking problems; or mix-ups on room assignments—as against "a clear schedule, followed closely." These problems are endemic on American campuses, but how often will you find, as did one participant, conscientious and effective leaders who "minimized the red tape involved in enrollment"? It was probably beyond the jurisdiction of the director to still the open rivalries and hostilities between members of a history department or of history and education departments—at least no administrator that I have known would attempt such a task at my university—and it would have taken a career diplomat to heal some of the wounded feelings caused by rude and boorish professors. But the tact and innate courtesy of some directors certainly contributed to the success of their institutes, as in the one where a participant was delighted because she could "participate in regular university functions." The opposite impression prevailed at an institute where instructors treated participants "as undergraduate students, and forgot they were teaching teachers." Some of the no voters complained about the program as a whole ("too much shotgunning") or haphazard organization ("It was poorly organized and one was left with the impression that it was put together with very little planning."). But in general the participant was satisfied with the leadership, several to the degree, embarrassing to the surveyor, of having "no major criticism at all."

23) Most Valuable Feature. We asked on both questionnaires what the participant had found the most valuable feature of the institute. The form of the question differed somewhat and consequently the answers do not wholly agree. The write-in respondents rated the features first in this order: subject matter instruction, 53 per cent; interaction with other participants and staff, 21 per cent; application of subject matter to teaching, 8 per cent; instruction in new materials, 3 per cent; audio-visual instruction, special lectures, field trips, 2 per cent; no choice, 12 per cent.

Since there were no guides for the responses in the interviews, the answers ranged too widely for all to be reduced to percentage figures. Somewhat more than half of the replies could be subsumed under the first rubric of the written questionnaire replies, "Instruction in subject matter." Of these,

many speak in just such broad terms, subject matter or course content: "quality of content" or "quality of instruction." Others speak of specific means by which that content was acquired. Some found the regular day-by-day lectures of the faculty the best feature, as against a very small minority who liked the seminars best—a strange attitude in a group which in general was somewhat skeptical about lecturing to high school students and strong on student participation. A very substantial number found the reading most valuable, some the required reading in the classes, some a wider ranging among the books they found in newly provided bibliographies. Twelve per cent found the guest lecturers the most valuable feature. It is perhaps significant that most of these last participants attended institutes where the local faculty lacked prestige, and where the chance to talk to a celebrity was an unusual honor. On the other hand, other participants were emphatic in saying the regular faculty members were more impressive than the guests. Several participants received a new view of history, others found the intellectual stimulus most important.

The key factor outside the emphasis on subject matter was the contact with other participants. This feature was often informal and spontaneous. Sometimes the experience is called a bull session, which it might very well have been, as witness one disillusioned participant in an institute in Alaska: "Interaction with other students consisted of questions about Eskimo girls, igloos, how the fishing and hunting were, had I ever killed a moose, a polar bear, caribou and in general nothing of historical value or significance." This is certainly not the mood in which most participants described their experiences. They tended to stress the importance of contact with people from other areas of the country and discussions with them about common problems; from their talk "about teaching conditions came a sense of solidarity." One otherwise disgruntled participant said: "The chief benefit that I received from the institute was the opportunity to meet and associate with the Negro members in a situation allowing freedom of association and communication without pressures or prejudices." This was a fringe benefit of no mean importance!

24) Least Valuable Feature. By and large, one might expect these negative features to show the reverse side of the coin, and in some instances they do, but there are some surprising coincidences. When asked to name the least valuable feature of the institute, some 36 per cent of the write-in respondents made no choice—whether out of charity or because it was hard to choose from some equally bad features. Only

3 per cent voted instruction in subject matter least valuable, and only 5 per cent contact with other participants and staff; these correspond to the high vote for the same features as most valuable. The heaviest votes (for the least useful features) are mostly within the realm labeled generically by the participants as method: instruction in new materials, 22 per cent; application of subject matter to teaching, 14 per cent; and audio-visual presentations (included with two irrelevant features, special lectures and field trips), 19 per cent.

In the interviews, 19 per cent of the respondents voted methods the least valuable feature; about half of these were displeased because the institute had too little or no instruction in this field, the other half thought any method instruction was too much. Some 10 per cent found instruction in audio-visual aids worthless, and the same number found the application of content to teaching not worthless but inadequate. A similar proportion objected to the written assignments for various reasons. Just as some respondents found regular lecturers or guest lecturers the most valuable feature of the institute, so here about equal numbers found each of those features the least valuable, a fine illustration of the subjectivity of judgments about the merits of teachers. There were a few other features disliked by individuals, as the two who shared a disappointment about not being able to enjoy the field trips they had anticipated: one because the tight schedule made it impossible to see the myriad "sites" (a popular expression among the participants) in Washington, D. C., the other who complained that his Ohio college had a "poor physical location—no sites, etc." I agree with both complaints. Again among our courteous clientele, a couple of respondents could think of no "least valuable" features.

25) Suggestions for Improvement. We ended our oral interview with a sort of suggestion box; having given participants plenty of opportunity to say what was good and what was poor at the institutes, we gave them a kind of imaginary responsibility by asking what changes they would make for 1966 if they were named director of their respective institutes. Of course it is easier to criticize or praise another's work than to do it yourself, but I must say our participants are by and large a sturdy group of activists; what they had liked they would keep or emphasize, what they had found wanting they would supply. The previous sections have made it clear that the patterns of thought tend to polarize in regard to views about the essential purpose of the institute, but here is no place to take a head count: one good suggestion may be worth a hundred mediocre

ones. But there are enough institutes for each of the forty-two participants interviewed to have one of his own to run, and for the sake of the record we may give an indication of the number of institutes which would follow each of the suggested improvements.

In planning, the ideal institutes would start earlier (1) and send out their literature and reading lists earlier (2). The program would be longer (2) or shorter (2), but in either case better balanced (1). Since those attending are persons of modest resources the "director" would increase the stipend for participants and dependents (1) and tack on a travel subsidy, particularly needed to encourage the interchange of cultures from the various regions in the United States (1). The clientele should be more homogeneous intellectually and professionally but not geographically or ethnically or racially (2); there should be an effort to attract more average (as opposed to present superior) high school teachers as participants (1).

The courses should tend more toward postholing, in-depth studies (2) and be brought up to graduate level (1). Professors should delete all overlapping and peripheral elements (1), the meanwhile eliminating any research papers (1). The courses should also involve more interpretation (2), more coordination with the social sciences (1), more group work (1), and more student participation (4). This latter might require more seminars at the expense of lectures (2), but elsewhere we should have fewer seminars (2). For such forms of instruction the institute should get better staff professors (1), with expertise based on residence as well as scholarly research when dealing with such exotic fields as Africa or Asia. To aid the regular staff the institutes should have more guest lecturers (4), but their contribution should be better coordinated with the rest of the program (1). Reading for this program should be reduced to a reasonable amount (4), more time should be allotted for the reading (2), and better library facilities and services should be provided (5). Testing for the institute should be changed in frequency, method, or personnel (2).

The institute should pay more attention to instruction in method (6) and use better means and personnel in such instruction (4), though it would also be well to teach less method (1) or throw out method (1) or get rid of "that Ed. prof." (1). Specifically there should be more attention devoted to the study of the high school curriculum (2). There should be more or better instruction in the use of audio-visual aids (4). To keep the participant happy between classes, better participant-faculty relations should be cultivated (3), and planned and in-

formal social gatherings should be increased (7) except for those who want less togetherness (1). More visits to historical, scenic, and cultural sites should be planned, for Washington if not Ohio (7). And to rest between trips and classes, better housing should be provided (4).

Thus it is apparent that in spite of some wide areas of agreement there are some topics on which opinion is sharply divided. In the case of "methods" and content, the schism is important enough to demand a special section.

VIII. Content vs. Method

If we may speak of a conflict about the relative merits of content and method, it must be understood that this is only a convenient metaphor, using terms common among the participants and, with them and their professors, continuing a discussion steeped in ancient rivalries that should have lost their meaning long since. Perhaps those at the institutes might have used their time better in discussing the role of history in secondary education. But they did talk about content and methods, some of them almost as if the two were mutually exclusive.

By their own statements, most participants went to the institute primarily to learn more history; they did learn more history, and they thought that was important. They also wanted to learn how to be better teachers, though some were not displeased with their present abilities. A majority of the participants thought the best way to become a good teacher is by increasing the breadth and depth of their knowledge of history, by becoming familiar with new interpretations and new bibliographies, and by getting a better grasp of the meaning of history. In some fashion the new understanding would trickle down to the kids in school. Others thought that a considerable share of the institute's curriculum should be devoted to the problems of consciously transmitting this new knowledge and understanding to the high school student. In a sense then, the difference of opinion was one of degree rather than of kind, and the two attitudes were probably inherent in the nature of the institute population.

We must remember that in some ways the participants constituted an elite body. The very fact that they had applied for admission and had been accepted marks them as leaders within the high school community. Most of them were mature and experienced teachers. Eighty-six per cent of them had done graduate work. A smaller majority, 63 per cent, had re-

ceived the Bachelor's degree in a liberal arts college (either independent or within some university or large state college), and only 36 per cent in a college of education. Similarly, 55 per cent had done graduate work in a school of arts and sciences, only 29 per cent in a college of education. Only 13 per cent had majored in education as against 72 per cent in history. Thus one could expect the majority of this population to hold with the typical biases and attitudes of the arts people against the pedagogues. All had taken the traditional required "Ed" courses in college; few had liked them then, and most wanted no more of them now. Few of the regular history professors at the institutes were familiar with the problems of high school teaching, and some were not even interested. The education professors who helped with the program, whether rightly or not, seldom won the respect of these participants. In instances where high school teachers were brought in as a part of the institute faculty, there was sometimes antagonism; the participants knew how to teach, they had come to learn what to teach. They were willing to admit inadequacies in one aspect of their professional behavior—scholarship—but never in the other aspect—teaching. One can frequently see these attitudes reversed among university professors.

Other participants, a minority, were candid enough in wanting to know how to teach. Sometimes they wanted to know in great detail rather than with basic understanding. In the relatively small sampling of the oral interview, this group perhaps included an unusually large proportion of persons shifting over from another field and lacking confidence in the new assignment, the coaches and "home ec" and geography teachers. There were also quite a few persons with special teaching problems back home, most often in connection with slow learners. But there were, too, participants of considerable experience in first-rate schools who had heard of new teaching strategies (not the old methods) and wanted to learn more about them. In many cases the teacher of slow learners, the coach, and the searcher for the new learning were all disappointed. When we came to the crucial question, whether at his institute attention had been paid to the application of subject matter to teaching, the participant's reply was most often—though not always—negative, though his attitude toward this lack might vary. Thus one teacher replied, "The institute was subject matter oriented and all attempts at relating subject matter to public school teaching fell far short of the mark." An opposite view of a similar condition may be seen in the reply of a teacher who thought "application of subject matter to classroom teaching was not specifically provided.

However I do not see this as a negative feature of the institute. I think the classroom teacher is probably in the best position to work out application of subject matter." Certainly he sometimes is. And he may help others; most of the do-it-yourself types were willing to consult with their peers, either in class or in bull sessions, and they found this more valuable than formal education classes.

One disappointment in the evidence collected in this survey is that it contains little in the way of precise detail about what was done in this matter of "application." This was true even when the respondent's institute was located at a college or university where we know much successful experimentation on the problem had been going on. In default of original source material, the reports of our interviewers were of real service, but here too one found opposite views. One interviewer wrote, "In spite of denials it did seem that changes in classroom methods were a major result of the institutes. Therefore the whole subject of classroom application needs serious attention in organizing future institutes. It may be that some institutes will wish to avoid the classroom application aspect and depend on indirect effects."

Another interviewer who is very much taken with the new approach to social studies teaching was most pessimistic about what had been done in the institute to promote such methods (or strategies). And because of this he was pessimistic about the whole idea of the institutes. Reporting on one interview with a teacher, the interviewer said: "I asked him if he had heard of Bruner, Bloom (Taxonomies of Educational Objectives), Mager (Preparing Instructional Objectives), or Fenton. He had heard of none of these. The discovery method he thought was mentioned" at the institute. Four other interviewees showed a similar ignorance. The interviewer was shocked. I would not have been. I knew one or two of the men but had read none of the books until engaging in this study. When I did, I felt like Molière's Bourgeois gentilhomme who had spoken prose for forty years without realizing it: some of the teaching devices I had been using with college undergraduates for many years, never suspecting they were new strategies.

But more to the point, some other participants were not so ignorant of this body of literature as were this hapless teacher and myself. When asked if they had tried to introduce into their own classes any of the new methods being worked out in curriculum development centers (Project Social Studies, ESI, etc.) as a result of attendance at the institute, 26 per cent of the mail respondents said yes, 28 per cent no; in 45

per cent of the cases such methods had not been discussed. Again, we do not know from the statistics what the returning teachers actually did with the new ideas, but at least a quarter of the sample population thought they had brought something helpful back to the class. In the written comments there are enough references to the literature and to the various techniques of the new methods, either in sorrow at their absence from the institute program or in thanks for the good they had done in the classroom, to suggest that many participants had at least a nodding acquaintance with the stuff. Some found the new ideas theoretically profitable but practically untransferable because of "the poor reading abilities of my students." One admirer of Projects Social Studies wrote: "The average teacher simply does not have time to do his own original research, develop new teaching techniques, grade papers, keep registers, collect money, etc., etc. He is dependent upon historians to do his research, which he in turn must read and translate into meaningful classroom experiences. It is this translation and depth of understanding in the subject matter which is the key to effective teaching." This program sounds like Up the Down Stair Case, and under such conditions the writer's view is eminently sensible. My only fear is that in some cases the teacher becomes too dependent on the new materials and the examples used in the demonstration; that is, he has learned one particular application rather than the principle involved. There is evidence to show this does occur, where the participant goes back and lectures from his notes, uses the lesson plans directly and even the same printed tests.

One must suppose that among the institutes there is somewhere a viable arrangement for pooling the several skills needed to produce a capable teacher: those of the historian, the psychologist of learning, and the experienced high school teacher. Unfortunately no such institute has been described in our evidence. Some of the letters refer to improvements in this area which were to be tried out in the 1966 institutes.

One of the most thoughtful letters on the general topic of content vs. method suggests some such effort as a fruitful experiment for an institute. The author says rightly that the problem is not native to the institute he attended: "being in education now, I agree that the historian's position is not without merit, although there are some good education professors. Perhaps through the NDEA projects a new rapprochement can be achieved between these two fields. Hopefully the involvement of the American Historical Association is a step in this direction." In the talk I had heard recently, the figure of speech

used went beyond a mere rapprochement; men spoke of a "marriage of history and education." From the way they talked, it sounded like a shotgun wedding, and it was not clear who would be the angry father. It is comforting to know that two such respectable bodies as the NDEA people and the AHA will here serve in loco parentis.

However happy and fruitful this marriage may be in establishing a rational program for producing good history teachers, one may hope we do not lose sight of the importance of the irrational and the emotional factors in successful teaching. Part of this is unconscious imitation: our letters say that "much of the response of the participants is in the form of direct imitation"; or, "the profs tried to teach us as they would like us to teach." One teacher said: "I truly felt that I left the institute as enthused about teaching as I was upon graduation from college. I cannot say in precise ways how I am a better teacher for having attended, but I'm convinced that I am and that my students are now benefiting from my attendance." I am convinced too.

IX. Conclusions

It is not a new thing for the American Historical Association to concern itself with the problems of teaching the young. In 1896 the AHA appointed a distinguished Committee of Seven, studded with the names of future presidents of the Association, to report on such problems; this it did in The Study of History in the Schools, published in June, 1899. An equally distinguished Committee of Five received a similar commission in 1907 and submitted its report on "The Study of History in Secondary Schools" in 1910; this was published in 1912. The present author has gazed with reverence at the eminence of the two committees and with envy at the liberal allowance of time they received, characteristic of those more leisurely days. Some of the locutions in these studies may seem a little quaint to the present generation of teachers, but many of the basic problems are familiar enough today. Some of them were familiar too when Comenius and the Oratorians were laying some of the foundations of the traditional pattern of history teaching for the young.

This study is a much more modest effort than the earlier ones sponsored by the AHA. The contract called for a follow-up survey of an institute program which had already been thoroughly studied, and early decisions by the advisory com-

mittee focused the investigation on a few specific phases of the institute experience. The advisory committee was generous in giving counsel when asked, as were the members of the working staff; I have talked to the several members of the committee about my findings, but because of a very tight schedule they have not yet seen a final draft of this paper. The report then is a personal document and, as I have confessed before, one filled with subjective judgments which do not necessarily agree in every respect with those of my advisors; but I must interpret the evidence as I understand it.

The narrow focus of the study eliminated consideration of some very important practical problems to which many of the respondents addressed comments that were often moving and sometimes eloquent. Some of the recurrent questions they raised deserve serious consideration by the appropriate persons or agencies, and it seems not irrelevant to report them here in the interest of open communications between the participants and the academic community. It may be pointed out that few if any of our respondents seem to have seen the report of Professor John M. Thompson, which treats in a more objective fashion these and other questions which they raised and for which this report provides no final answers.

1) Many respondents expressed an ardent desire for a sequential institute program involving three consecutive summers, or at least for a chance to attend another institute. In part this desire was spurred by such programs in other disciplines, in part by the interest engendered by the summer's experience, in part by the practical consideration of graduate credits toward a degree. It is not hard to sympathize with the view that teachers of history and social studies should be treated the same as those of other high school disciplines. There is the other point of view held by unsuccessful candidates for this year's institute: that the appointments should be spread more broadly. The dilemma is like that of postholing and shotgunning in courses, and it will not easily be solved.

2) Some participants were concerned with the related problems of graduate credit and course grades. There was some criticism, often justified, that in some institutes the program was just common, garden variety, graduate summer school; high school teachers several years out of college felt the competition and became grade-conscious to a degree that in some cases adversely affected the prime function of the institute. Since the institute is in theory different from the regular graduate program and its aim is to improve teaching, not status, the logical thing would be to dispense with grades

and degree credits. But I have lived through a similar logical effort at my own university, and I doubt that the accrediting agencies, the guild of registrars, or the participants themselves would approve of so much logic.

3) In any graduate school there is a considerable range in the capabilities of the students, but gross differentials are controlled by entrance requirements and qualifying examinations. Procedures differed among the fourscore NDEA institutes, but in general the screening does not seem to have been too careful. Consequently, there was a wider range in experience and sophistication than was normal in so small a student population as was found in the institutes. Complaints to this effect came from both wings, from those who were held back by the slow-paced and by those who had to scramble too hard. I cannot see any convincing reason why it would not be possible to select a student body homogeneous in terms of intellectual capacity and experience.

4) Against this plea for intellectual homogeneity, thoughtful participants stressed the values they had found in meeting fellow students from different geographical, racial, and social backgrounds. One may hope that that feature of the institute will be fostered, even if it means some extra cost for travel subsidies.

5) Many of the participants were interested in the problems of teaching slow learners and said that they found much of what they learned was not applicable in their classes. One may express the hope that in some institutes this problem will be given special attention.

In respect to those intellectual and professional matters on which the survey concentrated, the report seems on final reading optimistic in tone. This was something of a reversal in opinion. In my previous ignorance I had tended to underrate the institutes. Now it is possible that I see them through the rose-tinted glasses of the satisfied participant who had enjoyed with little cash outlay or none an exciting and pleasant six weeks, and this "after many summers in 'grad' school moonlighting to support a family while dashing from job to class." Perhaps the participants' replies were affected by the "social desirability" factor, and perhaps, though forewarned, I have read the evidence somewhat uncritically. I have wished that I might have visited some of the respondents in their own classrooms, but I am uncertain as to what I might have learned in a casual inspection.

At any rate, for the present I must report that on the whole I think that the NDEA history institutes in 1965 did much to improve teaching in the high schools. This is borne out by

most of the statistical evidence, the most notable exception being an important one, the failure in many institutes to provide useful guidance in the transfer of substantive historical knowledge to the classroom situation. My views have been colored too by evidence of an impressionistic sort, but it seems to me that the clinching argument in favor of the institutes is the fact that 94 per cent of the participants would like to attend another summer institute.

I must say that some of those who have helped me in this survey are less sanguine. Perhaps it is because, being younger, they are impatient and expect radical changes in one short summer. One of the respondents in the interview said that he had changed his teaching for the better as a result of his institute attendance, but he added, it was "not a revolution." That about sums up my attitude toward the program as a whole.

Some of the respondents, being teachers of the social studies, tended to view this part of the NDEA program in terms of its cost to the public and its social justification. One disgruntled participant wrote: "This particular institute was a waste of the taxpayer's money; it was poorly organized, the teaching was atrocious and the content was on the level of 8th grade U. S. History." Another said the whole program was "just like the G. I. Bill of Rights—the Government did something right again." Another wrote, "Social historians of future years may compare the overall quality of the NDEA Institutes with that of the humanistically oriented projects of the New Deal's WPA. Any such criticisms must be tempered by the saving reality that these Institutes gave teachers of history a much needed shot of status and respect." I only hope that those future social historians may find the file of letters which I have so shamelessly plagiarized.

University of Chicago
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James Lea Cate